

SCOTLAND'S STORY



27

**A Revolution that
was less than
Glorious for Scots**

**Claverhouse was
'Bonnie' or 'Bluidy'**

**Shot by a musket
ball as his foes
fled Killiecrankie**

**Scots prosper in
Scandinavia**

**Will Fyffe belonged
more to the world
than to Glasgow**



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ATLANTIC
OCEAN

1658

Scots migrants flood into Gothenburg.



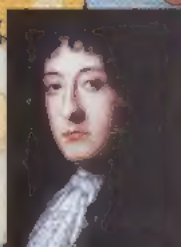
1660

Beginnings of century-long ascendancy of clan Campbell.



1674

John Graham of Claverhouse thought to have saved William of Orange's life at battle of Senefelt.



1689

April: Claim of Right declares that James has 'forfaulted' the Scots crown.



1688

King James removed in 'Glorious Revolution' in England.



1689

July: John Graham of Claverhouse is killed as he leads the Jacobites to victory at Killiecrankie.



1689

May: William and Mary accept offer of the Scots crown.

1690

July: Williamite forces defeat James' army at the Battle of the Boyne in Ireland.



1701

Exiled James dies at palace of St. Germain-en-laye in Paris.



In Part 28:
The Massacre
of Glencoe

PART OF
IRELAND

North
Channel

PART OF
ENGLAND



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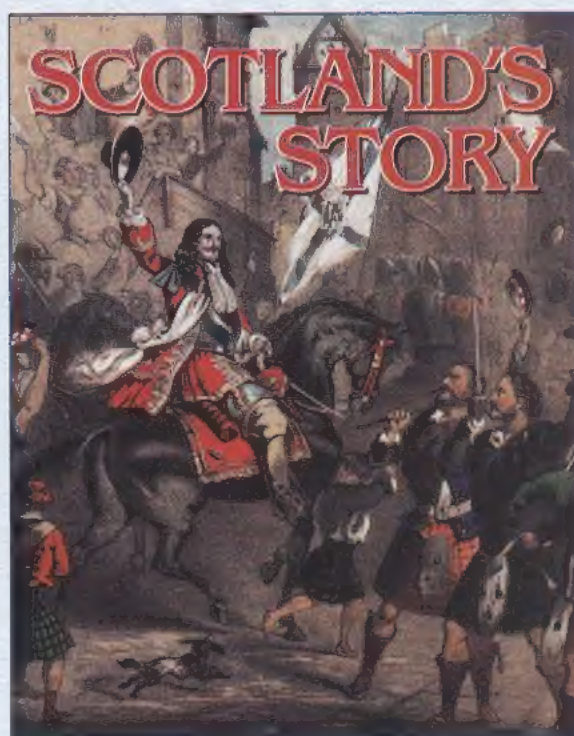
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COVER: John Graham of Claverhouse is feted by Highlanders in this illustration. But in other parts of Scotland he was looked on as a villain.

Revolution but not resolution

During the spring and early summer of 1689, Scotland, taking its cue from events in England, made a dramatic break with its past by effectively deposing the Stuart king James VII in favour of the Dutch William of Orange.

Although the Scots' Revolution was a more explicit undertaking than that in England, it was based on a similar concept of limited or 'contractual' monarchy. This required that the monarch was no longer above the law but below it, and subject to the will of the Church and parliament.

In Scotland, James spectacularly failed to meet the new criteria, due largely to his inept propaganda. The throne was instead offered to the more politically attuned William (and his Stuart wife Mary).

Back in England, however, when the theory of contractual monarchy became a reality, the supposedly 'progressive' William soon began complaining he was being 'used like a dog' by parliament.

The permanent removal of the Stuart dynasty from its British thrones was far from a fait accompli in 1689. The

political fallout from the Revolution was to last almost 60 years, and did not end until the final decisive defeat of the Stuart cause in 1746.

In the years immediately following the Revolution, besides those throughout Britain who sought the restoration of the ancient and legitimate royal dynasty, there were a range of other groups that rallied to the cause.

The latter used the Stuarts as a political vehicle to redress a list of grievances pitted against the new regime, including the establishment of an exclusively sectarian political identity, and the increasingly aggressive attempts of the English parliament to force its political will on its 'troublesome' northern neighbour.

Because of Scotland's rugged terrain, seaborne travel and communications took precedence over land routes before the 1700s. But there was sporadic investment in overland bridges of stone and timber, and some fine medieval examples still survive.

FOR SCOTS IT WAS

■ A detail from the 'Apotheosis of William and Mary', painted on the lower Hall ceiling of the Royal Naval College at Greenwich to celebrate their triumphant reign. For Scotland, however, their reign was less comfortable.



NOT SO GLORIOUS



As James VII, the last Stewart king, fled England during the 'Glorious' Revolution, he was replaced by William of Orange. But the decision to offer William the Scottish crown split the nation

From one perspective, modern Scotland came into existence in 1689 – when its Convention of Estates (so called because a parliament could only be summoned by the monarch) met in Edinburgh to consider the country's future in the aftermath of the landing of William of Orange in England and subsequent departure of James II to France.

James was also monarch of Scotland as James VII and his departure also created a political vacuum in a system dependent on the existence of a monarch. But the English 'Glorious Revolution' of 1688 had no direct connection with the Scottish Revolution of 1689. The manner of the change of regime in each country was as different as their calendars.

Although Scotland, like England, continued to use the Julian or Old Style calendar until 1752, it reckoned the beginning of the New Year from January 1 – unlike the English practice of starting the new year after 25 March. Thus events in Scotland from January 1 to March 25 were genuinely in 1689 while in England it was 1688!

In recent decades some historians have portrayed the Scots in 1689 as 'reluctant revolutionaries' arguing that the Scots only changed their political system because royal government collapsed in the absence of a monarch, and that if James had not left Britain change would never have occurred in Scotland.

Certainly the spark for revolution did in part owe its origins to events in England. There were no military forces remaining in Scotland, these having all been sent to England to defend London against William and the Dutch, and this allowed ►

The haughty tone of James's letter worked with the Jacobites but alienated most of those at the Convention

► political opponents of the status quo more freedom than they had experienced for many years. It does say something about the stability of Scotland in 1689 that a 'convention' was elected by the landowners and the royal burgh councils.

Both Presbyterian opponents of James and his Jacobite supporters were represented in it, and those who looked to gain by serving the new English regime set up by William and Mary were by no means guaranteed to dominate it.

The key moment came when the Convention voted to hear letters from both William and James before they began their deliberations. William's letter was vague and calculated to displease as few people as possible, whereas James VII, in all his Jacobite majesty, demanded immediate obedience to his cause. This worked with those Jacobites in the Convention, but not with the majority of its members, who were alienated by the haughty tone of Absolutist Monarchy shown in James's letter. The Jacobites left Edinburgh to seek support for James's cause in more sympathetic parts of the country, led by the charismatic James Graham, Viscount Dundee.

In their absence, the Convention formed an 'interim executive' and on April 4, with only five dissenting votes, it resolved that James VII had 'forfaulted' the ancient throne of Scotland. The exact meaning of the term 'forfaulted' can be debated, but its general intention was clear – the Scots were in the market for a new monarch, just as they had been at the end of the reign of James's great-grandmother, Mary, Queen of Scots.

Thus there was a Scottish revolution in 1689 which overturned the existing government. Its manifesto was the 'Claim of Right' passed by the Scottish Convention of Estates on April 11 and the Articles of Grievances passed on April 13.

Together, despite language coloured by the sectarian conflict of the time, they proclaimed the constitutional basis of a new Scottish government in which a representative parliament served as a check on the powers of the ministers representing the Crown.

Though sectarian points were included – such as a prohibition of Roman Catholics from the throne of Scotland and an end to episcopacy in the church – the real emphasis was on contractual government in which the representatives of the governed had the right to check the actions of those who claimed the authority to govern; limitation of royal powers, parliamentary approval for taxation, and the freedom of parliament to meet frequently and to debate any issue that it deemed worth discussion.

The Claim of Right is referred to time and time again in modern Scottish History as the foundation of the modern Scottish constitution. In 1842, for



■ King's servant: Sir John Dalrymple of Stair, who is forever associated with the Glencoe massacre.

example, the Church of Scotland issued a 'Claim of Right' in the midst of its conflict with the courts over its spiritual independence.

Its terms formed the basis on which the Scottish Convention offered the throne to William and Mary, but crucially, William and Mary did not come to Scotland to accept this offer.

Instead, three representatives of the Scottish Convention journeyed to London to meet William and Mary at St James's Palace. The Earl of Argyll represented the aristocracy, Sir James Montgomerie of Skelmorlie in Ayrshire the untitled gentry and Sir John Dalrymple of Stair, son of the famous lawyer Viscount Stair, the royal burghs. The subsequent careers of each would reveal much

about the course of the Revolution. Argyll and Dalrymple became trusted servants of William II of Scotland, as William now became, but Montgomerie did not. Why?

Essentially Montgomerie, the laird from Ayrshire, was committed to limiting the power of the monarchy in Scotland, while Argyll and Dalrymple prospered by serving it. Argyll would be made a duke, and his sons would become leaders of the government political interest in Scotland for two generations. Dalrymple would eventually become an earl in his own right, as first Earl of Stair, but not before his eagerness to serve the government associated his name forever with the 1692 massacre at Glencoe. Montgomerie, by



■ King's servant: the first Duke of Argyll prospered as he was rewarded for services to the monarchy.

contrast, would create the first coherent opposition party in Scottish parliamentary politics during 1690, and can be seen as the real author of the modern Scottish constitution and the legacy it left to later patriots such as Fletcher of Saltoun.

But, embittered by continued failure to influence events after 1690, Montgomerie drifted into intrigue with the Jacobites on the unlikely premise that James VII might agree to be restored to Scotland as a constitutional monarch, and eventually into exile.

After May 11 the Convention in Edinburgh became a Parliament, and Montgomerie made it his business to ensure that it shared sovereignty with the Crown rather than merely validated royal policy in the manner of most of its predecessors.

By 1690, Presbyterianism was restored to the Church of Scotland, the independence of Parliament acknowledged by the ministers of the Crown, and as a result parliamentary opinion became increasingly significant in supporting the independence of the Scottish legal system from the Crown.

With William distracted by events in Ireland and continuing Jacobite rebellion in the Highlands, his Scottish ministers had to retain the goodwill of Parliament, and made concessions accordingly.

They even – before news of William's Irish victory at the Battle of the Boyne reached Scotland – abolished the right of landowners and the Crown to appoint ministers to Church of Scotland parishes and instead gave it to the kirk session and heritors more immediately concerned with the local government of each parish.

The General Assembly which met in November 1690 was the first since 1653. It was to spend much of the subsequent 150 years debating its role

in the national constitution as a survivor of the parliamentary union of 1707, as well as its relationship to the political regime which had created it.

The Scots had got rid of their king and made their new joint monarchs accept a job description and a list of grievances before awarding them the Crown they never came to Scotland to hold. Instead, the monarch's Commissioner acted as their representative, and sometimes with effects that could not be foretold in London.

The Church of Scotland was transformed from an episcopalian institution in communion with its sister churches in England and Ireland into what claimed to be a national church, although it never played a role in the Highlands and even the north-east lowlands equal to its influence in the rest of Scotland. It was in the lowlands that around 300 episcopalian ministers were driven from their parishes during 1689-1690 by local mobs, "not as States-Men, nor as Church-Men, but by violence and in a Military way of Reformation" – as those in Cumnock put it.

The supremacy of the monarchy over this church was rejected and its spiritual independence under the authority of its own church courts headed by the General Assembly restored.

Was this a sectarian settlement? Yes. Did it have constitutional implications? Yes again.

Parliament, the courts and the newly established Presbyterian Church of Scotland reinvented themselves over the key years of 1689 and 1690 in a manner that established the political identity of Scotland for the next two centuries. And in the process ensured that its political identity survived parliamentary union in 1707. ●

TIMELINE

1688

The 'Glorious Revolution' begins in England. James II flees and William of Orange takes control of English government.

1689

January: James declared to have 'abdicated' and left 'vacant' the English throne.

1689

March: Scots Convention of Estates hears letters from both William and James.

1689

April 4: With James's supporters absent, the Convention resolves that James has forfeited the throne.

1689

April 11: The Claim of Right reiterates James's forfeiture of the Scottish throne.

1689

May: William of Orange and his queen Mary accept the offer of the Scots crown.

1689

July: James's cause is fatally weakened when John Graham of Claverhouse is killed as he leads a Jacobite force to victory at Killiecrankie.

1690

April: Repeal of 1669 Act asserting royal supremacy over the Scottish Church.

1690

June: Presbyterian government established in the Scottish Church.

1690

July: Abolition of lay patronage in the Scottish Church.

Jacobites by name...



The word described those who, through risings and plots, remained loyal to the Royal House of Stewart's senior line

What was Jacobitism? The name itself is derived from the Latin word for James – Jacobus. The origins of the term relate to those who supported the continued claims of James VII and II to the thrones of Britain after he was ousted in the revolution of 1688-89, and those of his son, James Francis Edward Stuart. The word 'Jacobite' described those who remained loyal to the exiled senior line of the Royal House of Stewart through a series of risings and plots. Although it was virtually a spent force after 1746, its remnants drifted on until the 1780s.

What were its ideological roots?

There is no easy answer, but essentially Jacobitism was based on the idea that for society to have order and stability, the country's ancient hereditary monarchy had to be safeguarded. While few in 1688-89 supported the notion that the monarch was divinely ordained to govern, many aristocrats recognised the utility of a theory which was seen to legitimate hereditary property rights.

Also, it's important to bear in mind that the aristocracy and nobility had earlier viewed the restoration of Charles II to the throne in 1660 as a means of quelling the disorder and radicalism which had been unleashed during the religious 'War of the Three Kingdoms' and the Cromwellian Conquest – years of chaos and disorder that were still well remembered when James VII was deposed.

Jacobitism appealed particularly to the Scots because, in many ways, the ancient Stuart dynasty represented Scottish identity.

More particularly, the strong Highland clan associations with Jacobitism came from the movement's strong appeal to the nation's Gaelic element. Ancient Gaeldom was based on a hierarchical model of society, the apex of which was the kingship.

Were all Jacobites primarily committed to restoring the Stuarts?

No. They are identified as being in three layers, the core of which was made up of those ideologically committed to the restoration of the Stuart monarchy, trying to bring up their families in the same tradition. A second, and much larger, contingent were those who at various times were

■ 'Prince' James Francis Edward Stuart – whose name (Jacobus in Latin) gave rise to 'Jacobitism'.

IS IT STUART OR STEWART?

AN absorbing debate that often arises in discussions on Scottish history is how to spell the name of the ancient Scots royal family – is it Stewart or Stuart?

'Stewart' is the older spelling of the name and originates from the 12th-century office of Steward, or cupbearer, to the Scots king. After the last Steward became King Robert II, the royals took the name 'Stewart'.

The 'Stuart' spelling comes from the 16th century, as a result of the strong French influence on the royal family at that time. The Frenchified Mary, Queen of Scots

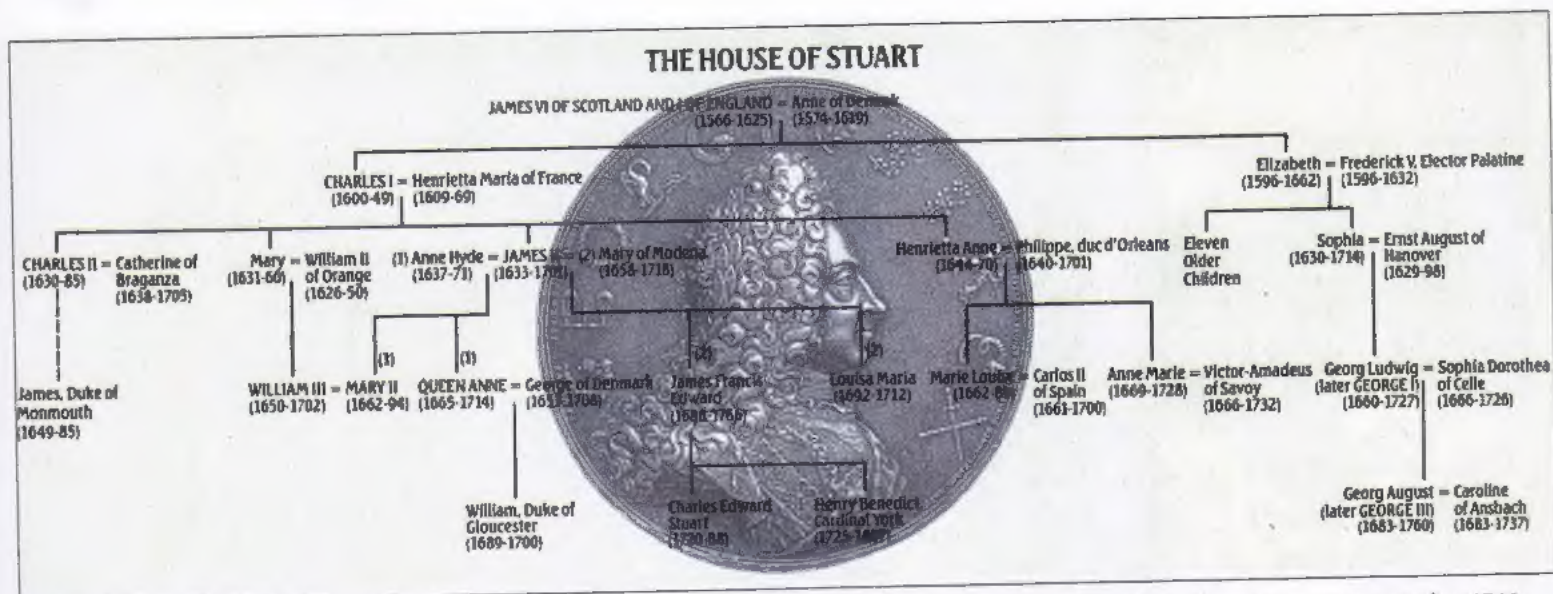
spelled her name 'Stuart', and thereafter the royal dynasty spelled the name that way.

After the dynasty was removed and then failed to retake its British thrones between 1688-1746, the 'Stuart' spelling still survived. By then there were many others who went by that name.

Meanwhile, 'Stewart' remained in popular use – after being dropped by royalty in the 1500s – not least by the noble dynasties who also carried that name.

Both spellings of this most historical of names remain popular to this day.

and here's the reason



■ A strong line but a finite one: after it lost power the House of Stuart (or Stewart) still had a strong following – whose force was spent after 1746.

disgruntled or embittered by the post 1688-89 Revolution settlement. Depending on the chances of success, this group could swell in numbers at times of Jacobite activity. The final layer has been termed 'adventurers' – those who had little to lose but everything to gain if the Jacobites were successful. However, because of its maverick status, this small band was very unreliable and could quickly abandon the 'cause' if it was seen as potentially damaging to its interests.

□ So Jacobitism was essentially a conservative movement?

It is difficult to categorise because Jacobitism as a political movement underwent subtle but important changes during its existence. Certainly, at the beginning it was perceived as a reactionary force and this theme was adopted by the later 'Whig' historians – those seeking to justify the 1688-89 revolution – who portrayed Jacobitism as a regressive and backward ideology. But because it continued for such a long time, it drew in disaffected groups from a range of standpoints. Thus, those Scots who felt embittered at the Act of Union of 1707 had in Jacobitism a vehicle to express their disenchantment at the new political situation. Whether out of altruistic motives or genuine conviction, Jacobitism also embraced religious toleration from 1715 onwards – an issue that would paralyse British politics for well over a century. Appeals to other alienated groups in British society led to promises to enfranchise plebeian Londoners, tackle corruption and hold a 'Free Parliament'.

□ Why was King James forced off the English throne in 1688?

James VII's attempts to introduce greater levels of religious toleration were depicted as an attempt to restore Catholic rights, an anathema to most sections of the political community in England. The

birth of his Catholic son and heir, James Francis Edward Stewart, Prince of Wales on June 10, 1688, was in some ways the straw that broke the camel's back. It led to the Dutch Protestant William of Orange being invited to take over the English throne. William's landing at Torbay on November 5 confirmed James's worst fears about a conspiracy to remove him within the ranks of the church, the army and the aristocracy. He fled to France on December 23, 1688, and the 'Glorious Revolution' – so called because of the bloodless nature of the coup in England – was completed.

□ Was it inevitable that Scots would follow?

No. When the Scots' Convention Parliament met in Edinburgh in March, 1689, to consider its response to events outwith Scotland, the decision could have gone either way. James was at a disadvantage in that he had lost control of the machinery of government in Scotland. But in trying to persuade the members of the convention, he displayed appallingly poor tactics. Letters from the rival claimants were read out to the convention on March 16, 1689. James's letter, strongly influenced by the uncompromising Earl of Melfort, came across as arrogant and threatening. A periodical of the time said: "This Letter, instead of encouraging King James's Friends, put them out of Countenance."

In part, it stemmed from the unrealistic optimism held by many within the exiled court that the military potential of the Jacobites was strong; but it was also driven by the 'Noncompounders', a hard-line group of Catholics who resisted James's attempts to make concessions to retake the throne.

In marked contrast, William's tone was much more conciliatory. His ambiguity on key matters, with the exception of his strong stand on the issue of preserving the Protestant religion, helped his

supporters rally others to his cause.

□ What was the international dimension to Jacobitism?

In a sense, because the exiled James VII and II set up court in St Germain, outside Paris, there was always an international dimension to Jacobitism. Moreover, for Jacobitism to have a realistic chance of success, support had to be cultivated from outside Britain, and many who had lost out politically from the post-Revolution settlement helped encourage foreign powers to participate. But other factors contributed; not least the ramifications of different European dynasties vying for control of the British monarchy. The Imperial ambitions of other European countries were another consideration as the English (and after 1707, British) colonies began to grow in number and influence.

□ Why does Jacobitism continue to fascinate people so much?

Firstly, in terms of timing, Jacobitism strides a key period in British history taking in the creation of the British polity (begun with the 1688-9 settlement), the Union of 1707 (viewed as a continuation of that process) and the onset of industrialisation.

Secondly, Jacobitism was about popular armed resistance to the established order.

And thirdly, Romanticist writers helped elevate the status of the Jacobites and rescued them from negative stereotyping by Whig historians. Both schools of thought have been attacked by modern scholars, ensuring that key debates are re-examined in the pursuit of a more comprehensive and coherent understanding of the past.

But despite the best efforts of academics to puncture some of the myths of Jacobitism, certain parts of our heritage industry continue to recycle false images from the past. If nothing else, this is testimony to the power of Jacobitism to excite the public more than three centuries later. ●

In their victory lay

For Claverhouse it was a famous Jacobite victory as William's raw troops fled the field in terror. But because of a stray musket ball, he did not live to savour the moment

The Battle of Killiecrankie, fought on July 27, 1689, near Blair Atholl in Highland Perthshire, was the first in a series of military actions fought as part of a general Jacobite campaign that was to last for 57 years and end in final, bloody defeat at Culloden.

Jacobitism rested on a deeply ingrained sense of loyalty among certain sectors of Scottish society to Scotland's royal house, the Stuarts, and more particularly on the refusal of many to accept the constitutional revolution that had convulsed Scotland, Ireland and England in the years between 1688 and 1690, and which ended with the deposition of King James VII.

In the autumn of 1688, leading English politicians, dismayed at the King's policy of promoting Catholics to prominent government jobs while also, to their mind, undermining the established Protestant Church of England, asked James's son-in-law, Prince William of Orange, to land in England and force a reversal of these decisions.

Although the fall of James was ultimately decided by events in England, the nature of his removal as King in Scotland was noticeably more extreme. South of the Border



■ William of Orange on his legendary white steed: his army was led by Major-General Hugh Mackay.

it was decreed by parliament that James had abdicated, a position which allowed the niceties of the succession to be preserved. No such pandering to monarchical sentiment occurred in Scotland. On April 4, 1689, a convention of Scottish politicians in Edinburgh declared that as a result of his religious and

constitutional policies, James had in fact forfeited – or 'forfaulted' – the Crown. In other words, in England James was seen to have left the throne of his own free will. In Scotland, however, he had been pushed.

For supporters of James this was impossible to accept and was seen as the first step in an unconstitutional

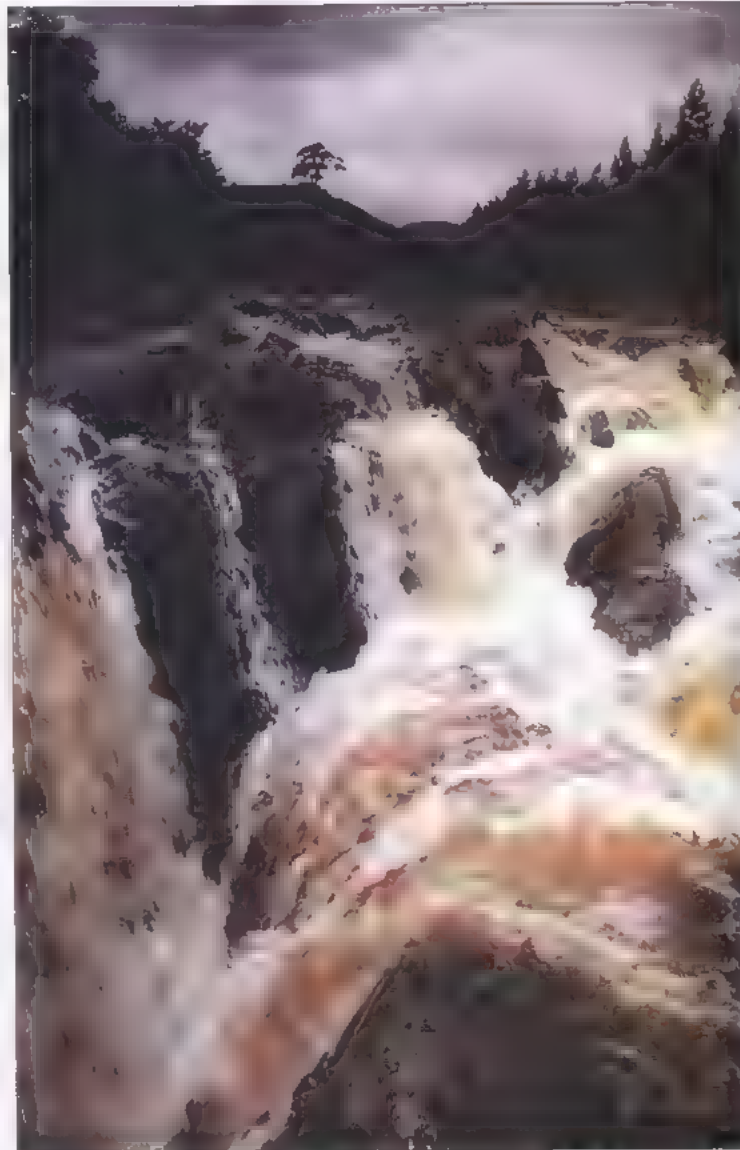
erosion of the King's powers that would be followed by the replacement of Episcopacy, the official state religion, with Presbyterianism.

One such Scottish supporter of James was John Graham of Claverhouse, Viscount Dundee, known to his opponents as 'Bloody Clavers' for his suppression of

the seeds of defeat



■ Blair Atholl Castle: where Claverhouse's forces invited Mackay's move.



■ The River Garry: Mackay's troops were trapped and killed on its banks.

Covenanting Presbyterians during the 1670s and early 1680s

In mid-April, just outside Dundee, Claverhouse raised the standard of King James and began mobilising men to launch an attack into the Lowlands to secure Stirling

Delays in getting men from clans in Mull and Lochaber, such as the MacLeans of Duart, Camerons of Lochiel and Macdonalds of Glengarry, meant that by late July troops loyal to William were able to move north and challenge Claverhouse's forces, then laying siege to Blair Atholl Castle

Perhaps not unsurprisingly, given the spectacular nature of his later defeat, William's commander, Major-General Hugh Mackay of Scourie, has gone down in history as rather incompetent. In fact, he was a tested veteran of William's wars against France, and although his force was only 4,000 strong, its core consisted of his own regiment and those of Brigadier-General Bartholomew Balfour and Colonel George Ramsay, all of whom had served in the Dutch army

The forces at Claverhouse's command were of an entirely different character and numbered perhaps between 2,000 and 2,500 men. Formed around the clan levies of the Camerons, Macdonalds and MacLeans, this Jacobite force relied on speed and closing quickly on its enemy to wipe it out at close quarters with broadsword and dirk

Late on the afternoon of July 27, Mackay was moving his men through the Pass of Killiecrankie when Claverhouse's forces appeared on the high ground on their right. By 5pm

it was clear that, although blessed with superior numbers, Mackay was in deep trouble

While elements of his main infantry battalions were dependable, he had recently received additional, raw recruits and had been joined by the regiment of Lord Alexander Kenmure, only recently created. As he deployed his regiments, Mackay made a basic error that left his soldiers particularly vulnerable to attack. Fearing the Jacobites would use the advantage of high ground to sweep round the sides of his force, he ordered his men to spread out until his line was only three men deep. This meant that the Highland charge, when it came, would not run into a compact and strong wall of men

Another critical weakness lay with Mackay's cavalry units, again only recently raised by the Scottish nobles, Lords Annandale and Belhaven. In theory, these dragoons were supposed to attack and break up the mass of Highlanders before they charged into the infantry. But the cavalry's inexperience began to show and was compounded by the steep sides of the glen, which lowered the effectiveness of any planned cavalry attack. As the afternoon wore on, the alien landscape and commanding position of the Highland army demoralised Mackay's army

Ironically, the very propaganda used in the Lowlands to illustrate the primitive and savage nature of Highlanders began to prey on the minds of Scourie's men, especially the inexperienced ones. In a sense, by the time Claverhouse ordered a

full Highland charge at 7pm, Mackay's men were already mentally defeated. As the Highlanders charged down the slope, Lord Belhaven's cavalry turned and fled

This exposed the inexperienced Kenmure regiment to a full, unbroken charge of the Macdonalds of Glengarry. It was too much for the raw recruits and before the Highlanders had even reached them they turned and ran, only to be cut down in large numbers from behind

At this point, Lord Annandale's dragoons decided enough was enough and bolted from the field

This began a general panic and marked the beginning of the end for Mackay's army. On the left hand side of his force the regiments of Balfour

and Ramsay scattered before most had even fired at the advancing MacLeans. It says something for the discipline and reputation of Mackay's own regiment, commanded by his brother, James, that both the Camerons and the main body of MacLeans concentrated their attentions upon it. Mackay's men fired two highly disciplined and devastating volleys, killing at least 150 Camerons. Then, however, the Highlanders were upon them

Struggling to fit their bayonets, which could only be used by being plugged into their musket barrels, Mackay's men were defenceless in front of Claverhouse's best men. The result was that they, too, turned and ran. Such regiments were conditioned ►

■ A catalytic death: when Claverhouse was hit as his men were winning the Killiecrankie battle, everything changed.

Just as his men charged to victory, Claverhouse was struck by a musket ball from one of the few volleys that Mackay's forces fired



► to fight as a whole unit, and once order broke down, regular soldiers were no match for Highlanders whose whole way of war was based on the ability of an individual warrior in one-to-one combat. The result was carnage.

As Mackay's men fled down the pass of Killiecrankie, the battle descended into a running fight with many being caught on the steep banks of the River Garry and killed amid a chorus of dying men and the cries of those begging for quarter.

It was at this point that the most famous incident relating to the battle occurred. One individual soldier, lost and trapped on the banks of

the Garry, saved himself by jumping an extraordinary distance across the river at the spot now named, of course, The Soldier's Leap.

Others, however, were not so lucky. Mackay's brother, James, was killed as his regiment was broken. Brigadier Balfour was trapped near The Soldier's Leap, reputedly by a local Atholl man, Robert Stewart. He was at first offered quarter and, on refusing, was killed where he stood. In all, perhaps 1,200 from Mackay's side were killed or badly wounded.

However, not all the deaths were in William's army. Part of the reason Killiecrankie retains its reputation as an important battle is because it so

fits the romantic image of the heroic yet doomed Jacobite cause.

Just as his Highlanders charged to victory, Claverhouse was struck by a musket ball from one of the few volleys fired by Mackay's forces. Whether he was hit in the eye or stomach is not certain, but there was no doubt that by nightfall, John Graham, Viscount Dundee, victor in the first and most spectacular Jacobite success, was dead.

His death changed everything. His personality and charisma had kept the army together. Lacking a strong-willed leader, the Jacobites were to be defeated in turn at Dunkeld on August 21 as they

tried to push into the Lowlands.

Generally, Killiecrankie showed that through speed and one-to-one combat, Highland clansmen could be lethally effective against the Crown's slow-moving professional armies.

It demonstrated that Jacobitism's military strength would primarily come from certain Highland clans—a fact that was only to harden the government's already hostile attitude to the Highlands as a whole.

In demonstrating at Killiecrankie their potent military threat, the Jacobite clans convinced the government of the need for harsh action. In victory, lay the seeds of Glencoe and Culloden. ●

Local Heron is a holdout, a traditional fortress at the forefront of resistance to Campbell expansionism.



CLAN POWER THAT SHAPED SCOTLAND

Over 100 years from 1660, the influential Campbells of Argyll eventually became servants of the state, reflecting the nation's parallel integration in the wake of the Jacobite risings



■ Third Duke of Argyll: handed over political leadership of Scotland...



...to his nephew, the third Earl of Bute, the grandson of the first Duke.

The history of the Campbells of Argyll from 1660 to 1761 is in some ways the history of the integration of Scotland into the British state. It incorporates a journey in status from Highland magnates to the embodiment of unionist Scotland after the Jacobite rebellions.

The ninth Earl of Argyll, son of the great covenanting Marquess of Argyll, succeeded to the latter's estates after his execution and was restored to the title of Earl of Argyll in 1663. Thereafter he enjoyed the protection of the royalist regime led by the Earl of Lauderdale, who saw a loyal clan Campbell as an important lever of government power in the Highlands.

He inherited the mantle of Presbyterian champion from his father while striving to

remain loyal to the regime. Meanwhile, he focused on trying to secure the financial basis of his inherited estate by recovering debts owed to him by other Highland clan chiefs, and in the process extend his authority as a feudal superior under Scots Law into Moidart, Knoydart and most famously, Mull.

Much of this was done under the guise of restoring law and order in a lawless Highlands under the authority of a Scottish Privy Council prepared to give the Earl a blank cheque of authority in return for a show of government action.

In fact, Argyll used this as a cover for Campbell imperialism in the Highlands, extending his private mini-kingdom and in the process restoring his family's finances. In doing so, the ninth Earl brought a commercial approach to

The second execution in 25 years of a leader of Clan Campbell opposed to the House of Stewart confirmed the two parties as mortal enemies

handing over as part of clan leadership to the Highlands.

From 1679, however, with the weakening of his friends on the Scottish Privy Council, the ninth Earl began to lose influence. He chose to oppose the King's brother James when he came to Scotland as the King's Commissioner, and did so on the issue of James's Catholicism and his fitness to succeed Charles II on that basis.

After his failure to subscribe satisfactorily to the test of loyalty to the regime, he was imprisoned in Edinburgh Castle but escaped and went into exile in Holland. In 1685 his attempt to return and raise the standard of

rebellion against his old enemy James, now James VII, failed and ended with his execution. This second execution in 25 years of a leader of Clan Campbell opposed to the Royal House of Stewart confirmed the two as mortal enemies. In the Highlands it confirmed those who opposed the Campbells as Jacobites and in the Lowlands it confirmed the Campbells as Protestant champions.

Yet the man who put his head on the block for a third generation was to die in more compromising, if less dramatic, circumstances.

The 10th Earl of Argyll, also



■ Duart Castle on the island of Mull: a still-impressive stronghold of the once-powerful MacLeans – whose power was obliterated by the Campbells.

named Archibald, left Scotland after his father's execution and followed in his footsteps to Holland, where he joined the Scottish exiled political community in Amsterdam and, like them, returned to Scotland in the aftermath of William of Orange's successful invasion of England with his Dutch army in 1688 and the flight of James Stewart to France.

He attended the crucial Convention of Estates in Scotland which met in Edinburgh in 1689 to decide the future of the Scottish throne. By inheritance, he acquired the mantle of his father's and grandfather's martyrdom by the Stewarts, and he was one of three representatives of the Scottish Estates delegated to journey to London to offer William and Mary (jointly) the throne, and if they

accepted, to tender Scotland's coronation oath.

The 10th Earl then negotiated the accession of William and Mary to the Scottish throne in a direct and personal way that tied the Campbells' fortunes to the success of the anti-Stewart revolution of 1688 and his survival in Scotland.

The 10th Earl raised a regiment to help defend the regime in Scotland, which in 1692 would carry out the massacre of the Macdonalds of Glencoe. In the same year the regiment was moved to Flanders to fight against the French, where it remained until disbanded in 1697.

His Campbell remains a shadowy figure, much involved in the intricate political in-fighting among the great and the good that characterised the

politics of Scotland under the monarchy of William II, but never standing out in relation to policy other than avoiding the repercussions of Glencoe. His estate in the Highlands contained the income required in the game of high politics. As a result the Campbells came to be involved in American colonial schemes in the West Indies even before the Darien adventure in Panama, and many a Darien colonist on each of its ill-fated expeditions was recruited from the Campbell regiment.

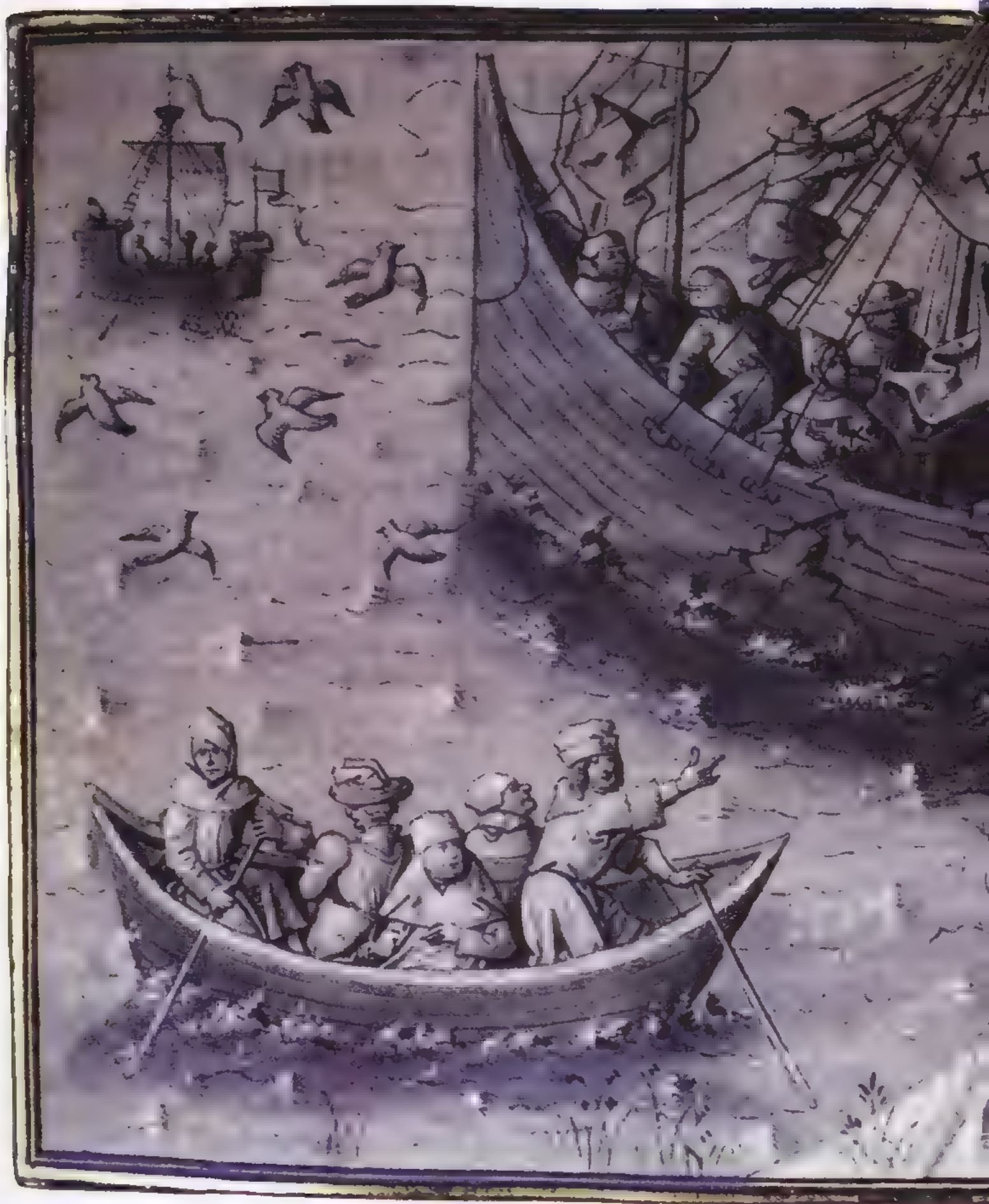
The political in-fighting of the 10th Earl earned its ultimate reward in the days of the reign of William, when the Earl became the Duke of Argyll, Marquess of Eglintyre and Lorne, Earl of Campbell and Cowal by patent dated at Kensington

palace in 1701, with right of inheritance to his male heirs.

Two years later, the new Duke was dead, killed during a scuffle in his private brother in Northumberland. His godson or his curse to his land were his sons, who determined the destiny of Scotland for the next 60 years. When he died, they were 23 and 21. Eton educated, the elder a soldier with his father's regiment, the younger trained to the law, they would be the crucial agents of union and political management in the dramatic decades of the first half of the 18th century in Scotland.

And the youngest son, the third Duke of Argyll, would take command over political leadership of Scotland in 1761 to his nephew, the third Earl of Bute, grandson of the shadowy and ambitious first Duke of Argyll.

■ Struggling with sails and leaks before even setting off: 15th-century North Sea travellers from Scotland found the journey fraught with obstacles.





The nation that put the travail into travel

Early seafarers made a start. But getting around – and out of – Scotland has never been very easy

Communications in Scotland before the 18th century were slow and difficult, and a glance at a topographic map shows many of the reasons why – rugged terrain of mountain and hill, deep-cut firths and estuaries, indented coasts of the west Highlands and Islands, navigational hazards round the Northern Isles, forbidding cliffs at Buchan or Caithness, and a lack of navigable rivers

Other influences are less obvious but equally important: high rainfall, fast-flowing rivers which, in spate, could wash away the strongest of bridges; and a poorly-drained landscape, a legacy of the last ice age which littered the land with mounds of glacial debris interspersed with lakes, bogs and marshes

Today, after three centuries of reclamation and drainage, the face of the countryside has been altered beyond recognition and it is difficult to appreciate just how difficult some areas were to negotiate. The valley of the Forth above Stirling was a huge peat bog, a remnant of which survives as Flanders Moss. Upstream from Stirling Bridge and the crossing at the appropriately-named Drip, there were only the Fords of Frew, familiar alike to armies and more peaceful drovers.

The problems of overland communication help to explain the

importance of sea routes to early settlers – whether Mesolithic hunter-gatherers, Bronze Age megalith builders, Irish monks in their leather currachs or marauding Vikings. The West coast and the Northern Isles were united by sea with Ireland in one direction and with Scandinavia in another. In Medieval times, Highland war galleys united the Lordship of the Isles which functioned virtually as a separate kingdom.

Overland routes were important too. The Romans laid out a sparse network of roads through southern Scotland, some of which – such as Dere Street, linking the Lothians and the Tweed Valley – continued to serve as major routeways in Medieval times. However, outside the towns and some marshy areas where causeways might be constructed, roads before the 18th century were generally worn by the traffic that used them rather than deliberately constructed

They often took the form of broad bands of intertwining trackways which narrowed in on bridges, fords, and other obstructions, before fanning out again in open country. On steeper slopes, rutted sets of hollow-ways, worn deep by centuries of traffic, can still be seen in many places

There are some indications that overland transport might actually ►



■ Cattle droving – to markets like Edinburgh's All Hallows Fair – was important for Highland income and needed wide roads to accommodate cattle.

► have been easier in Medieval Scotland than in later times

Certainly, during the Wars of Independence the baggage trains of Edward I's invading armies moved remarkably fast. A drier climate than today may have helped, but doubtless the Medieval military had a lot more manpower to haul vehicles out of bogs than ordinary civilian carriers

By the 17th century, with a more numerous population, increased trade and rising industrial production, road conditions may have become even worse. Sporadic efforts were made to maintain key routes, like the one between Edinburgh and Glasgow, or the Causey Mounth, the coast road linking Aberdeen with the south

But the panic-stricken, almost comic attempts of the Privy Council to mobilise local inhabitants for upgrading the main road from Edinburgh to Berwick when James VI returned to Scotland for a visit in 1617 suggest that normal conditions for travellers were

difficult and often dangerous

A special category of routeway was the drove roads over which thousands of lean, wiry cattle from the Highlands and Galloway were driven every year southwards to English markets. The droving trade reached its peak in the early 19th century, but black cattle formed one of Scotland's major exports to England by the later 17th century

Drove roads were characteristically wide to allow for the movement of herds which could number several hundred animals. They were often walled in to prevent the beasts from straying into private pastures

Through the Borders they took the high road along ridges and crests where movement was easier. By the end of the 17th century, cattle were being driven from locations as remote as Skye, and swum across to the mainland. At the great markets of Crieff, Doune and later Falkirk they were sold to English buyers, then continued their journey across the Border, to be fattened in

Transport on Scottish roads and tracks before the 18th century was primitive. Pack horses were used for long-distance traffic in preference to carts and wagons

southern pastures, sometimes as distant as East Anglia, before making their last journey to the Smithfield slaughterhouses.

Transport on Scottish roads and tracks before the 18th century was primitive. Pack horses were used for long-distance traffic in preference to carts and wagons, even for bulky items like coal or grain. Over short distances sleds carried heavy loads, grain from the harvest fields, peat from the hilltops or quarried stone for building an abbey or castle

Sleds had the advantage of a low centre of gravity which made them safer than carts on steep slopes. Carts did exist, and were becoming more

widespread by the later 17th century, but they were often of the light variety, with solid wheels and rotating axles called, realistically, 'tumblers'

The main form of investment in overland communications before the 18th century was in bridge construction. Medieval bridges, initially of timber, later replaced in stone, were often financed by burghs to encourage their trade. Some were provided by the church as a public charity such as the early bridges at Aberdeen, Dunkeld and Glasgow

Others were constructed by feudal lords to serve their castles. Good examples from the 15th century survive at Dumfries and Guard

Bridge near St Andrews. Many were swept away by spates and, because of the cost, there were often long delays before replacements were provided. After the Medieval bridge at Roxburgh was washed away, there was no bridge across the Tweed between Peebles and Berwick until the mid 18th century.

At Perth a stone bridge was built in 1616, swept away in 1621 and not replaced until the late 1760s

Bridges were thinly scattered in Scotland compared with England, but after the Reformation many new local ones were constructed by the landowners to improve access to parish churches

Given the difficulty of overland travel, it is not surprising that communications by sea were so important. Coastal transport, however, though faster and cheaper, was also risky. The vessels employed in coastal trade, and even those venturing across the North Sea, were small and did not require much in the way of facilities for loading and discharging their cargoes. Even at the end of the 17th century many 'harbours' were merely sandy bays – like Aberlady, the official outpost for the royal burgh of Haddington or sheltered rocky creeks, such as Whaligoe, Caithness, a deep-cut inlet reached from the cliff-top by a flight of 330 rock-cut steps.

Even major ports like Aberdeen, Inverness and Leith were merely quayed river mouths as late as the end of the 16th century. Towns above the limits of navigation, such as Dumfries, Perth and Glasgow (where the Clyde was only 15 inches deep at low tide) had outports where sea-going vessels could be unloaded.

Cramond, on the outskirts of Edinburgh, provides a good example of what many ports were like at this time. During the 17th century many burghs invested in new quays, piers and breakwaters in order to export commodities like coal or grain and to import goods such as timber.

Landowners with burghs of barony, whose inhabitants were eager to steal trade from their rivals in the royal burghs, often financed new harbours for coastal trade and fishing.

Fraserburgh, established by Sir Alexander Fraser of Philorth in the late 16th century, is a good example.

Despite the hazards of Scotland's coasts, navigational aids were few and the lighthouse on the Isle of May, built in 1636 and burning up to three tons of coal on long winter nights, was unique.

By the early 18th century



■ Bridges were thinly scattered in pre-Reformation Scotland, and upstream from Stirling Bridge there were only fords.

improvements to Scotland's transport and communications were slowly starting to appear. The great era of road and bridge building by men like Macadam and Telford, of canal construction, of wet docks and the deepening of the Clyde to turn Glasgow into a port, still lay some decades in the future, but increasing dissatisfaction with existing conditions is evident by the end of the 17th century as a prelude to real changes.

In 1669 the Scottish parliament

instituted a system of statute labour for road repairs, modelled on the English system. Sheriffs and Justices were required to hold annual meetings to draw up lists of roads and bridges needing repair. They were given the power to call out local people for up to six days work a year. Not surprisingly, this system was unpopular and the quality of any repair work, done grudgingly by unskilled workers, was poor.

But during the early 18th century

it became much more common for the labour to be commuted to money payments. The cash was used to employ professionals, and the quality of roads in areas like Fife improved steadily.

The first turnpike roads, financed by investors, followed. Another first was the building, in 1722, of a colliery wagonway from pits at Tranent to Cockenzie harbour – Scotland's first railway, albeit with wooden rails.

But that's another story. ●



■ Still visible today: the impressive Roman road called Dere Street that linked the Lothians and the Tweed Valley.



■ Claverhouse's character was often blackened – but in this painting he is loved by all.

Bonnie or Bluidy?

John Graham of Claverhouse was a military leader of mixed fortunes, but this stickler for the law has been demonised in Covenant folklore

It was probably Sir Walter Scott who, in 'Redgauntlet', gave John Graham of Claverhouse the flattering label 'Bonnie Dundee'. In the west of Scotland, particularly the Covenanter, had another name for him – 'Bluidy Clavers'. For Graham was a government commander who was

charged with suppressing militant Presbyterians in what became known as the 'Killing Times' of the 1680s.

Claverhouse was certainly bonnie enough. A portrait – now in Glamis Castle – by Sir Godfrey Kneller shows him dressed rather foppishly as a courtier rather than the

courageous soldier he undoubtedly was. He looks out from the canvas with the confident arrogance of a born nobleman (which he wasn't).

But before we look into his back ground, it's worth asking whether he deserved the 'bluidy' tag which he shares with another royalist commander of the period, 'Bluidy Tam' Dalyell. Historians writing after the event have suggested that Claverhouse's 'merciless' reputation was not deserved, and that much of what happened during the 'Killing Times' was exaggerated.

In 1678 Claverhouse, already a seasoned soldier in Continental wars, was given command of a troop of horse and sent to Dumfries and Galloway to subdue the Covenanters and crack down on their secret open-air conventicles – the prayer meetings which had been outlawed by the government. The job was very much to his taste, for he was a committed royalist, while the more extreme of the Covenanters renounced their allegiance to the Crown, had actually declared war against the State, and would carry arms to their meetings.

He was also an Episcopalian by upbringing and anti-Presbyterian by nature. But his first serious confrontation with the Covenanters ended ignominiously. Thanks to an effective network of government informers in place, Claverhouse learned that a conventicle was about to be held at Drumclog in Ayrshire.

He hurried there with his small troop and was taken by surprise at the fighting discipline of the opposition and the commitment of their unarmed supporters. His soldiers floundered into a bog and were forced to retreat to what was then the small city of Glasgow.

Not long after, Claverhouse was part of a 10,000 strong army led by the Duke of Monmouth which outnumbered, outgunned and defeated a considerable Covenanting force at Bothwell Brig.

During the following years, the government offered the Covenanters various deals, but at the same time applied various strictures. The Covenanters split into moderates and 'fanatics', a favourite term at the time. The freedom of faith, or of no faith, which we enjoy nowadays had still to come. But as Claverhouse was appointed Sheriff of Wigtown and his powers increased, he was certainly feared by his adversaries because of his efficiency and location.

In a letter to one of his superiors, he pointed out that his soldiers were



The soldier as foppish courtier: Claverhouse portrait at Glamis Castle

Merciless? It has been estimated that he ordered the deaths of only 10 militant Covenanters – including five who were guilty of murder

unable to cover more than 40 miles a night (65 kilometres) to hunt down 'rebels' – quite a considerable distance in those times.

He did not hesitate to order the execution of those who were clearly challenging the law. And whatever we may now think of the ridiculous law of that period, attempting to force people's beliefs into line or be guilty of treason, this was the nature of his job.

His effectiveness, and the dread in which he was held because of it, undoubtedly led to the overstated claims that he had the blood of hundreds on his hands. It has been estimated since that he ordered the deaths of about 10 militant Covenanters and this figure included five who were guilty of murder.

In fact, Claverhouse was a stickler for the law and punished his own troops for breaches of discipline.

He knew that some of the laws

brought in against Covenanters were particularly unjust, and wrote in 1684 "I think it a thing not to be desired that I should be forfeited and hanged if my tenants' wife 20 miles away should give meat or shelter to a fugitive."

The 17th-century English writer Daniel Defoe wrongly claimed that Claverhouse was responsible for 100 deaths. A 19th-century author maintained that "scores of women" died in the Killing Times. But this was challenged by later historians, including Agnes Mure Mackenzie, who offered to give money to charity if the writer could prove this. She asserted that five women were condemned, three of them reprieved, and only two executed after an official bungling. The money for charity went unclaimed.

Nevertheless, Claverhouse's 'bluidy' reputation survives. Made Viscount Dundee in 1688, he

continued his support of the Stuarts when the Catholic King James VII fled the throne from London, and he raised a Jacobite army to challenge the rule of William and Mary. This was where his charismatic sense of leadership and soldierly qualities reasserted themselves.

Although he could speak no Gaelic, he secured the support of the clan chiefs, and his Highland campaign was notable for its fast moving tactics. For example, his small force of about 2,000 men was able to cover more than 100 miles of difficult territory between Inverness and Perth in around two days.

The climax came at Killiecrankie in Perthshire. Claverhouse was now the 'rebel', ironically. A government force of 4,000 under General Hugh Mackay of Scourie advanced cautiously up the narrow glen, heading for Blair Atholl, but found Claverhouse's troops waiting for them on the heights above.

They waited cleverly, charging only when the sun went down. One of Mackay's technical problems was that his infantry troops were equipped with the new 'plug bayonets', which could be fitted into the muzzle of their muskets only after the piece had been fired. The charging Highlanders were not prepared to hang about until this manoeuvre was accomplished, and won their victory in less than half an hour. But it was a musket ball that ended the life of Claverhouse as he led a charge, and he is reported to have died bravely.

Hero to some, villain to others, where did this man come from? Born in 1648 the son of a minor laird from the Angus Perthshire border, he studied philosophy at St Andrews University but some 10 years later decided to become a soldier in foreign pay.

He fought for the French for two years and it might have been a change in Britain's foreign policy that induced him to change to fighting for the Dutch forces of William of Orange. He is supposed to have saved the life of the Prince of Orange in 1674 at the Battle of Senef.

If this is so, the course that Claverhouse's life took thereafter is the deepest of ironies. In Scotland, he fought against the Dutch, influenced Protestantism and died as he defeated King William's troops at Killiecrankie.

In his rise to Scotland's nobility, the life of Bonnie Dundee seemed to have turned a full circle. ●

To 'Norroaway o'er the



■ After their wedding in Oslo in 1589, James VI and Anne of Denmark visited Kronburg Castle (above and below) at Elsinore where they were met

Six centuries of Norsemen left their mark on Scotland. But between the 16th and 19th centuries the wheel turned

Beginning with the first Viking attacks on Iona and Skye in the year 795, for more than six centuries the Norsemen dominated huge areas of what we now call Scotland.

Indeed the formation of Scotland, as we know it today, was marked by two crucial events relating to Scandinavia – the mortgaging of the Northern Isles to the Scottish Crown in 1468, in lieu of a dowry for Princess Margaret of Denmark on her betrothal to James III, and the ceding of the Hebrides from Norway to Scotland following the Treaty of Perth in 1266.

Still today, you hear those outer isles referred to in Gaelic as *Innse Gall*, the foreign islands – because

of the Norse influence there. In the Lowlands, too, it is the Norse element which still marks major differences between Scots and Standard English.

We have, for instance, *kirk*, *kist*, *breeks*, *brig* and *rig* for the English church, chest, breeches, bridge and ridge.

This shared cultural and linguistic inheritance worked both ways, of course, and this article intends to demonstrate how Scots migrated on their turn to Scandinavia, spreading between the 16th and 19th centuries profoundly influencing the development of the timber and fishing trade in Norway, becoming part of the military and industrial elite in Sweden, and controlling politically the



faem' for a new life



by a large Scottish local community.

Danish ports of the Sound
To Norroay, to Norroay,
To Norroay o'er the faem

The links between Scotland and Norway are ancient and of great consequence to the history of both countries.

The daughter of Alexander III married King Erik of Norway and their daughter, the Maid of Norway, would have become Queen of Scots had she not died on her fateful voyage from *Norroay o'er the Faem*.

Following the union of Norway with Denmark, the ties between the countries and their crowns were continually strengthened by marriage: James III to Princess Margaret, and James VI to Anne of Denmark. In 1612, however, the



■ A view of Elsinore with its dominant Kronborg Castle – and Helsingborg in Sweden across the Sound.

relationship was severely strained Scottish mercenaries were flocking to join the forces of Sweden, then at war with Denmark-Norway. The last thing James VI wanted, cosy in his marriage union with Anne of Denmark, was his Scottish subjects rocking the boat and fighting for the enemy of his ally.

Worse was to come when a force of these outlawed levies, numbering round 300 with wives and families, tried to reach Sweden by crossing hostile Norwegian territory. They were attacked and killed or taken prisoner.

Edvard Storm's ballad, written one and a half centuries after the massacre, actually demonises the Scots and glories in the Norwegian victory.

It was the British consul in Oslo in the late 19th century, Thomas Mitchell, who wrote a more accurate account of what actually happened.

Fascinatingly, he found that a Scot who was spared from the firing squad eventually became a glass engraver and sent a present of finely wrought

windows to his saviour and benefactor, a farmer in Gubrunsdal. Mitchell found them there, bought them, and placed them where they can be seen today in the Anglican church in Oslo.

That incident apart, the result of the numerous treaties signed was a rise in commercial trade between the countries. The Scots dominated the Norwegian timber trade of the 16th and 17th centuries to such an extent that it was in fact called the *skottehandel*, the Scotch trade. It still is, and the place names and oral tradition of the Rysfylke district in particular are full of Scottish references.

The importance of the *skottehandel* to our East coast skippers can be gauged by the fact that up to seven out of every 10 ships from places such as Dundee were engaged, as the records put it, in 'bringing hame gret timmer'.

Many, of course, never 'cam hame', but stayed, their families contributing immensely to the culture of their adopted homeland. The most famous and popular Norwegian writer of the 17th century was Petter Dass,

son of Peter Dundas from Dundee.

The North Sea herring trade was another sphere of Scottish influence, with Jacobite exiles crucial in the rise of Kristiansund as a great port for exporting fish in the 18th century.

Bergen also attracted Scottish merchants, among them the families of two of Norway's greatest sons, the composer Edvard Grieg and the statesman WFK Christie. What is remarkable about both is their importance in heightening Norway's sense of national identity in both cultural and political spheres during the 19th century. They were prime movers in a movement which culminated ultimately in Norwegian independence, Christie presiding over the Norwegian Assembly which drew up the nation's constitution. For his pivotal role in the national movement, he is revered by all Norwegians.

Following the wedding of James VI and Anne of Denmark in Oslo in 1589, the couple toured Denmark, visiting Elsinore and Kronborg Castle. At Elsinore they were ►

► entertained by a substantial Scottish community dominated by the Lyle family dynasty. Earlier in the century, Alexander Lyle had established himself as the town's provost and customs officer of the Sound Toll. With every ship heading to the Baltic having to pay the toll, it was a lucrative and prestigious position.

The church in Elsinore has beautifully ornate altars dedicated to the Lyles and related Scottish families.

Strong artistic and intellectual ties also developed. When the University of Copenhagen was founded, it had Scots professors of Medicine and Divinity.

George Buchanan corresponded with the astronomer Tycho Brahe. One of the earliest Scottish statements of the Protestant doctrine, John Gau's 'The Richt Wey ti the Keingdom o Hevin' based on the work of Danish reformer Christiern Pedersen – was published in Scots in the other important community with Scottish provosts, Malms, in 1533.

It was King Gustav Vasa in the first part of the 16th century who urged the Scots to fight for Sweden, a policy continued for over 100 years by every succeeding monarch and reaching its height at the time of the Thirty Years' War. Then, regiments like MacKay's Highlanders served in the Scots Brigade under the Lion of the North, King Gustav II Adolf – or Gustavus Adolphus – who numbered 34 Scots Colonels, 50 Lieutenant Colonels and thousands of footsoldiers in his service.

Twenty Scottish families were ennobled, so the Swedish aristocracy is rich with names like Hamilton, Crafoort (Crawford) and Douglas.

They retained awareness of their Scottish background and pride in their role in Sweden's military tradition.

In the 1850s the Marshall of the Kingdom of Sweden was a Hamilton,

while the Commander in Chief of the army during World War II was a Douglas.

Historically, however, they were not merely content to be part of the military élite. Their penetration into the exclusive field of diplomacy is revealed by the negotiations between Sweden and Denmark-Norway to end the Kalmar War in 1613.

Representing the Danish side was Robert Anstruther, on the Swedish side was James Spens. Not only were they both Scots, they were half brothers from the same East Neuk of Fife!

One result of the another peace negotiated in 1658 was that the whole of the Skanian region was ceded by Denmark to Sweden. That done, the Scots flooded into the major city the Swedes built there, Gothenburg. By then, they had

already established themselves as merchants in all the principle Swedish towns.

One of the wealthiest men in 17th Stockholm was the splendidly-named Blasius Dundee. Gothenburg Scots included the Carnegies who were sugar refiners, brewers and philanthropists, establishing the city's free library system.

The Keillers started the Gothenburg ship-building tradition and donated Keiller's Park to the city. The Gibsons from Arbroath founded a pioneering industrial community at Jönköping which produced sail cloth and countless other products. The Chalmers family endowed the university which still bears their name – Chalmers University of Technology.

Scotland was also to blame for introducing tobacco into Sweden. One

of the country's earliest golf courses, another Scottish import – has the Drummond Hole, commemorating Davie Drummond the country's first pipe smoker.

The tobacco trade was dominated by the Tottie and Musterton families. Most prominent Scots, including a number of Jacobite exiles, were members of the Royal Bachelors Club, which they founded in 1769 "for billiards and recreation". It is still a thriving gentlemen's club, its officials sporting the Erskine tartan in memory of the founder Thomas Erskine, Earl of Kellie.

In an area with such a strong Scots tradition, it is natural that the national game went out there as well, and it was Ayrshire textile workers from Newmilns who took part in the first association football matches in the early 1890s.

Scotland also exported curling to Sweden. The curling pioneers went out with the firm Thorburns of Leith, the game having been introduced to the country by William Andrew M.F. of Greenock in 1846. Finally, there emerged in Gothenburg a tangible but more lasting Scottish legacy in which we can take some degree of pride.

Historians there talk about the social and political liberalism which they sum up as the 'Gothenburg mentality'.

Many believe it has as its source the deeply rooted tradition of democratic intellectualism brought to the city by the Scottish community. ●



■ Where so many ambitious Scots alighted to begin great careers: the busy harbour of Oslo as it looks today.



■ Enterprising Scots families flooded into the new Gothenburg to pioneer improvements in education and industry.

Scotland the Dream in one old building

The Perthshire fortress has seen a pageant of national drama since its 13th-century beginnings

In Scotland's strife-torn past, if you were looking for a strategic place to build a stronghold commanding the mountain passes that lead north to the Highlands, you could hardly have chosen better than Blair Atholl. And in modern Scotland, if you wanted a spectacular building to catch the tourist's eye from the coaches that ply the main road between Perth and Inverness, Blair Castle would be your ideal.

Lying in wooded parks at the western entrance to Glen Tilt, the dramatic, whitewashed home of the Dukes of Atholl simply leaps visually out of the wild landscape. With a flag fluttering from its central tower, it seems to represent every visitor's preconceived dream of Scotland's romantic past.

Yet it was not the resident noblemen who started the building of this much-altered fortress in the 13th century. The original earldom dated from Celtic times. But it was an earl in the time of King Alexander III who returned from the crusades and found that an interloper, John Cumming of Badenoch, had moved in and had started to build a tower on his land. The earl complained to the king. The outcome of this is uncertain, but the tower remains and still stands as the castle's tallest feature.

In following centuries the tower gave shelter to the invading English monarch Edward III, and by the 16th century it was developed into a much larger building when the third Earl commissioned a series of vaulted chambers and built over them a great hall, which is now the dining room. Mary Queen of Scots, who travelled much throughout Scotland during her short reign, stayed there in 1564. Part of the entertainment for her visit was a hunt through Glen Tilt, in which the bag was said to have been 360 deer and five wolves.

Meanwhile, the Earldom of Atholl had gone through many changes, affected by the country's turbulent monarchy. The original Atholl line died out in 1211, and the title passed to a family who were opposed to King Robert I. They forfeited the lands which were then taken over by the Crown. In 1437, James I was murdered at Perth in a conspiracy said to have been headed by the Earl of Atholl.

James's widow, Queen Joan, later married Stewart of Balvenie, the Black Knight of Lorne, and their son, Sir John Stewart of Balvenie, was made the next Earl of Atholl. So the half brother of King James II became the first of the current Atholl line.

In later times, the head of the house of Atholl was



The Duke's private army – the Atholl Highlanders – on parade at Blair Castle.

raised to marquis and then to duke. But before this happened, the family was embroiled in the civil war between Cromwell and the royalists. The Atholl earls supported the crown, and Blair Castle was captured by Cromwell's forces and occupied for eight years until the restoration of Charles II in 1660.

It was in 1703 that Queen Anne conferred the dukedom in recognition of Atholl's loyalty. The Queen was anxious that the duke should support parliamentary union between the Scottish and English parliaments, but because he declined he was placed under house arrest for some months after the Union went through. But perhaps the greatest drama which split the family came during the Jacobite uprisings of 1715 and 1745. While the first duke and James, one of his sons, supported the government, the oldest and youngest sons – William and George – came out for the Stuarts. William was exiled to

France after the first uprising, but returned with Prince Charles to raise the Stuart standard at Glenfinnan in the '45.

He was with Prince Charles Edward as the Jacobite army headed south, staying a night at Blair Castle on the way. Sensibly, the family's anti-Jacobite faction had temporarily moved out. Later, government troops occupied the castle. On the way north again to Culloden, the youngest son George found himself laying siege to his own home. But he failed to free it of the occupying soldiers, carried on to survive Charlie's last battle, and died in exile in Holland. The oldest brother William died in the Tower of London.

With all strife now in the past, Blair Castle was transformed into a Georgian mansion and later into the Victorian baronial style. Queen Victoria granted the dukes the unique right to maintain a private army allowed to bear firearms, and the Atholl Highlanders, recruited from estate workers and local people, can sometimes be seen on parade. Blair Castle was one of the first of Scottish stately homes to be opened to the public. Inside the whitewashed castle today are magnificent rooms, halls and staircases hung with great portraits and dramatic displays of old weaponry, but also there are smaller spaces that hold the modest treasures of a family's occupation for many generations. The tourists whose first glimpse of Blair Castle is from the nearby road are never disappointed with what they find there.

Blair Castle is open to visitors from early April until late October. Entry to the house and grounds costs £6, or the grounds can be visited for £2. A family ticket to the house for parents and up to five children is £18. There is a fixed caravan park in the grounds. For information ring 01796 481207 or send e-mail to blair@great-houses-scotland.co.uk.



Inside: dramatic displays of old weaponry.

He didn't belong to Glasgow, but...

Will Fyffe, 'ambassador of mirth and song', belonged to Scots everywhere

On the way to becoming one of Scotland's greatest and best-loved stage comics, Will Fyffe was a failed gag-writer. He wrote several character sketches for Harry Lauder, who was a well established music hall favourite by the early 20th century, but Lauder didn't use his work.

Instead of slumping in disillusion, however, Fyffe decided to perform his material himself and started a climb to fame which almost matched Lauder's. His comedy style was completely different, though, and the two men remained firm friends down the years.

The stage was in Fyffe's blood. Born in the village of Letham, Angus, in 1885, he went on the road as a child with his father's travelling show, known as a 'penny geggie' (one old penny was the admission charge) and was soon pressed into service as a performer.

It was hardly well-paid, glamorous work. In a single evening he might have to play three roles in 'Hamlet', do a clog dance and 'black-up' to play a minstrel, and after a week of this he would get 4s11d (less than 25p) in his pay packet. In bad times on the road, young Will would look for other work – as a stage hand selling postcards, as a barman or hotel porter.

Some years earlier, Will's father had performed in a variety double act called Fyffe and Bolton. Now the Bolton side of the partnership had become a father too, and daughter Lily Bolton joined Will to put on an act of their own which attracted notice.

This novel linking of theatrical families led to Will and Lily's marriage. But all too soon, as Will's career began its climb, he was hit by tragedy. While he rehearsed for a new show at the Dublin Hippodrome, waiting for Lily to join him, he learned she had been drowned when

her ship sank after a collision in the fog-bound Irish Sea.

Will Fyffe carried on, to make his London debut in 1916 at the Middlesex Theatre. His genius lay not so much in the wisecracks of the typical comedian but in creating endearing character sketches full of pathos and gentle humour, with the kilt and Balmoral as his stage costume.

Among the favourite Scots characters he brought to life were the Clyde engineer and the village eccentric called 'Daft Sandy'. But because Fyffe's great song was the ever-popular working-class ditty 'I Belong to Glasgow', he was forever to be linked with that city.

During World War I he sang it as he took his act to troops resting from the trenches – and again, during World War II, as he took it into North Africa and the Mediterranean.

Between the wars, Fyffe's star kept rising. He topped the bill at the London Palladium in 1921, and the following year made the first of his four Royal Variety Show appearances at the special request of King George V, one of his thousands of fans. International tours followed.

Will Fyffe was the hit of the New York vaudeville circuit for nearly six months, and was welcomed by city mayors and pipers as he toured Canada, South Africa and Australia.

In 1930 Fyffe began a separate film career with a part in 'Elstree Calling', a revue packed with variety artistes of the time including Tommy Handley and Cicely Courtneidge and



■ **Exportable Scot: Will Fyffe was the hit of the New York vaudeville circuit.**

co-directed by Alfred Hitchcock. Fyffe's contribution was to sing in praise of Scotch whisky: "Twelve and a Tanner a Bottle."

He appeared in more than 20 films, including a sentimental yarn about a farmer's dog called 'Owd Bob'.

Fyffe loved fishing and his great relaxation was to take his rod to the Highlands. He was planning an expedition there in 1948 with Harry

Lauder but died the year before after an accidental fall from the window of his private suite in a St Andrews Hotel. The theatre world and its audiences mourned the man who was described as "a great ambassador of mirth and song, a friend of the ordinary man."

Fyffe had remarried, and his family decided he should be buried in Glasgow – the city that, in a real sense, belonged to him. ●

The talker of The Steamie

When her stage career looked bleak, Dorothy Paul got the part of her life

It was her remarkable performance in Tony Roper's hilarious Glasgow play 'The Steamie' that relaunched Dorothy Paul's career

After a promising start winning a singing competition as a teenager, she was about to start work as a clerkess in a sausage factory when showbiz beckoned

She went on tour with comedian Johnny Beattie and immediately after became a member of the ground-breaking STV lunchtime show 'The One O'Clock Gang'. She called this experience "a nervous breakdown that lasted six years"

The Dennistoun-born Dorothy (real name Pollock) married at 24, moved with her husband to Dublin, and was widowed at 31. She returned to Scotland with her two young daughters and struggled to pick up the threads of her career. For a

long time she took any work that was going, including punishing stints 'working the clubs' and occasional television parts. A business venture bombed, and the lowest ebb was reached in 1987 when she was rejected for a part in a provincial production of 'The King and I'. This, said Dorothy later, was the ultimate put-down

But, with a prompting phone call from friend and fellow-comedy actress Elaine C Smith telling her about auditions for 'The Steamie', the roller-coaster started again. Her performance as tough-talking Magrit was central to the play's brilliant success on stage and television, and she emerged as a renowned writer and hugely popular performer of her own sharply observed material, often in highly acclaimed one-woman shows



■ Dorothy Paul's TV break was 'a six-month nervous breakdown'.



■ Ian Bannen died while being acclaimed for his final movie.

Dr Cameron's perfect actor

As a schoolboy in Leicestershire, the Scots-born Ian Bannen used to skip classes to watch movies starring Jean Gabin, the world-weary French anti hero. Three years before his death, Bannen was given an award for lifetime achievement by the British Academy of Film and Television Arts. So a wheel had turned a full circle before his untimely loss in a road accident in 1999, aged 71

But during a lifetime's much-lauded work as an actor on stage and screen, it is perhaps ironic that Bannen probably received most notice in his own country for the television remake of 'Dr Finlay's Casebook', a series based on the writings of A J Cronin. He played the crusty but warm hearted Dr Cameron

A lawyer's son born in Ardrie, the craggy-faced Bannen made his stage debut in Dublin in 1947 and joined the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre Company

in 1951. His career was punctuated by highly-praised performances of Shakespeare ('Othello', 'As You Like It', and the title role in 'Hamlet') and in the contrasting psychological dramas of the American writer Eugene O'Neill ('The Iceman Cometh', 'Long Day's Journey Into Night')

Starting his film appearances in a Boulton Brothers comedy in 1956, he quickly became established as a fine character actor in everything from tense thrillers to comedies, and was Oscar nominated in 1965. In 1995 he played Robert Bruce's father in 'Braveheart'. His final film, 'Waking Ned' (1998) – about a village conspiracy to claim a big lottery win after the actual ticket holder died of shock – brought him worldwide praise

At the time of his death, Ian Bannen and his wife Marilyn had thoughts of retirement close by Loch Lomond

WHEN PINS CAUSED MORE THAN PAINS

So-called witches could also do good deeds – like bringing on rain for troubled farmers.

Getting stuck up by witches was not a pleasant matter – indeed it could be fatal, we are told by some Highland folk tales that survive today

Every properly-equipped witch in folklore must have had an unlimited store of pins, for here are two matching tales from the Highlands.

Dateline: Ardnamurchan, Argyll. A well-known cattle-rustler called McLain stole so frequently from the herds belonging to MacLean of Duart that the chief, in modern-day parlance, put out a contract on him.

But it seems that even thieves have a sense of right and wrong, and tend to place witchcraft in the latter category.

So when McLain passed a ruined church near the Sound of Mull and saw a light inside (shades of Robert Burns's *Jam o' Shanter*) he investigated and found a trio

of witches sticking pins into a clay figure. It must have been a pretty well-made doll, for the thief immediately recognised his sworn enemy, the McLean. Several pins were already in place, but just before the witches could plunge the fatal one into McLain's heart, McLain leapt in and chased them off. He took the clay figure to the chief's house, where he found the man in severe pain and near death. As McLain

watched, each pin was extracted from the clay figure and the clan chief was able to rise from his deathbed and became McLain's staunch pal for evermore. Happy ending.

Dateline: Strathfillan, Perthshire. A church minister developed an inexplicable but painful illness, losing strength and beginning to waste away. His doctor was unable to discover the cause.

But early one morning a woman walking to the manse

to inquire after the minister's declining health saw in front of her another woman who was suspected locally of being a witch.

She followed. Without being spotted, she saw this woman burying something and dug it up afterwards to discover that it was a wooden effigy of the minister stuck with pins. She took it with her as she continued to the manse. Once more, the minister got better as each





■ Among rural people a malevolent witch was often to blame if the cows' milking was inhibited or if the butter was too light.

pin was pulled from the doll's body. But here was a special refinement: the 'witch' was there too, pretending to be anxious about the minister's well-being.

The similarity between these and other witch stories is quite striking. But the fact that both were collected by folklore hunters in the Highlands in the 19th century shows that the general terror of witches in earlier times is far from forgotten. In fact, one writer says that there are still people to be found who claim to have had direct experience of witchcraft but are often reluctant to speak about it.

Many of these stories reflect the everyday concerns of rural people – cows that stop giving milk, milk that refuses to churn into butter, butter that turns out lighter than it should – all due to the powers of a malevolent witch.

But witches could sometimes be male, and also use their powers to help people – by, say, bringing on the rain to solve a farming problem.

A story from Ullapool tells of a male witch called Calum McRob who would surely be popular after this achievement.

He used to call round regularly at a bothy in the forests where a local man worked at his illicit still. On one occasion a messenger turned up to warn that a party of excisemen were on their way, having been told where to find the still. But as the 'poit du' was still

bubbling away, the distiller couldn't flee without losing all his equipment and his hard-won spirits. In exchange for "a horn of your best whisky", McRob the witch cast a spell that surrounded the bothy in darkness and sent the excisemen in the wrong direction. This gave the distiller time to finish his batch and remove all his gear to safety. So far as is known, there's no story about witches aiding the excise.

One hilarious folk-tale concerns a lady of the house who instructed her cook to give high-faluting names to everyday things such as the master, the cat, the kitchen range, the river outside, and the house itself. Later that night as the cook sat at the range, a burning coal fell out upon the cat. Remembering her instructions, the cook shouted up the stairs: "Master above all Masters, start to your strunterfers, waken Lady Peerapolemadam, for Vengeance has seized Old Calgravatus and unless help is fetched from the River above all Rivers, the Castle of St Mungo is doomed!" Incredibly, researchers at the School of

Scottish Studies discovered that versions of this story have been collected in Russia, Lithuania, Czechoslovakia, France, Italy, Spain, Chile, and the Caribbean as well as throughout the British Isles.

One authority believes the story was made up in the Middle Ages to mock people who pretended they understood church Latin.

The 17th-century writer Martin Martin, originally from Skye, was fascinated by 'the second sight', the power to predict events, and by the prophecies of seers who

abound in the traditions of the Highlands and Islands. The second sight was found to be a great burden on those who possessed it. Martin discovered that many seers were melancholy people but lived frugal and orderly lives, eating

simple foods and doing everything in moderation. They never sought to make money from their powers.

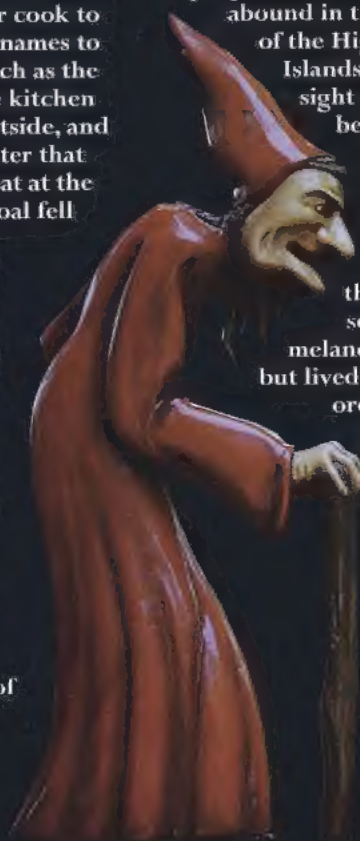
One of the most ominous of these powers was the ability to foretell a person's death, and Martin learned that a seer could predict from a vision when death could be expected. The unlucky person would be seen wearing a shroud, but if the shroud only reached the waist, another year of life was indicated. If the shroud was actually seen rising towards the person's head, death could follow within hours.

Martin, described as being a sceptical man, was shaken when only he and one other person were told of the impending death of a friend, who passed away exactly when predicted. As he travelled around collecting these experiences, the writer's arrival was often foreseen even in places where he was unknown. The seer could give a good description of the coming stranger.

Even Dr Samuel Johnson came to accept the possibility of the second sight, hearing several examples of accurate prediction during his tour of the Highlands and Islands.

On Skye, he stayed at one point near the house of a seer called McKenzie, but didn't make his acquaintance because McKenzie could speak no English.

A pity. Johnson would have made a useful witness for the believers. ●



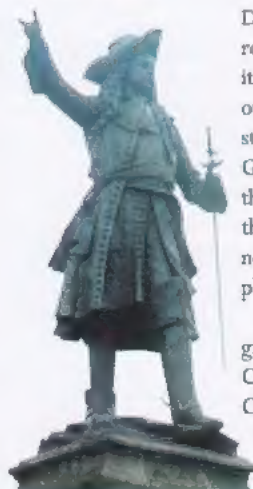
■ The general terror of witches in earlier times is far from forgotten.

STONE MEMORIES OF BLOODY TIMES



As William arrived, the Covenanter spirit was rekindled. But more war meant more death, says biker historian David Ross

■ Statue of the Earl of Angus marks the raising of the Cameronians.



William of Orange left Holland with a force of 15,000 troops and 70 ships. After various setbacks, he landed at Torbay on November 5, 1688 – the anniversary of the Gunpowder Plot. He was firmly ensconced in London before the Scots made a decision about their choice of monarch.

The arrival of William rekindled the Covenanting spirit, and a new regiment was raised by the Earl of Angus to defend the Protestant faith. This regiment called itself the Cameronians – in memory of Richard Cameron, a noted Covenanter.

Cameron was killed during a pitched battle with Government dragoons at Airdsmoss in Ayrshire. Along with the rest of the slain, he was buried on the site. It is marked today with a stone pillar, the graves alongside, surrounded by an iron railing.

This monument stands between the meeting of the A70 and B743, a mile or two west of Muirkirk. Driving west on the A70, you will find the monument standing in the middle of the moorland on your right.

The Cameronian regiment was both raised and then – in recent years – disbanded in the village of Douglas in Lanarkshire. The regiment first came together in April, 1689.

To mark the fact that it had passed its second century of existence, a statue to commemorate the event was raised in Douglas in 1892. This statue is a representation of the Earl of Angus, and it stands a little west of the churchyard, overlooking the Douglas Water. This stream, named in Gaelic the 'Dubh Glas' or 'Black Water' is the origin of the surname Douglas, a famous name throughout Scottish history – and now probably one of the most common place-names across the globe.

Just east of the village, in the grounds of the now-ruined Douglas Castle, stands a memorial to the Cameronians, marking the spot where the regiment was finally disbanded. If visiting Douglas, look out for the



■ Monument marks the spot where tailor James Gavin lived – and lost his ears.

memorial in the village's little Main Street, marking the site of the house of James Gavin, a tailor whose ears were severed with his own tailoring scissors for his belief in the Covenanting cause.

He was exiled to Barbados, but on his eventual return he resettled in Douglas, and the monument has the date stone from his house, including a carving of his initials and scissors, as part of its construction.

The Cameronians are famous for their defence of the town of Dunkeld that followed the Battle of Killiecrankie in 1689. Here they forced back the forces loyal to the exiled James VII.

Killiecrankie itself is a little north of Pitlochry, and today has a visitor centre under the care of the National Trust for Scotland, telling the story of the battle.

This centre stands beside the old main north-south route, the B8079, which has been superseded by the modern A9. Beneath the visitor centre, on the River

Garry, is the famous Soldier's Leap.

The battle itself was lost and won in only two minutes. After discharging their muskets and pistols, the Highlanders let out a fearful yell and charged.

Two thousand of William's troops died under the swinging axes and claymores of that fearful onrush, and in his desperation to escape, one soldier leapt from rock to opposite rock across the torrent of water below, saving his life from the unwelcome attentions of his tartan-clad pursuers.

But it was a hollow victory for James VII's forces. Their commander, 'Bonnie Dundee', was killed by a musket ball. His last resting place is in the church at Old Blair, a little further north within the grounds of Blair Castle.

Dundee was an excellent soldier and commander, and if he had survived the battle, Scotland's history could have been very different indeed. ●

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SCOTLAND'S STORY

NEXT WEEK IN Part 28

BEHIND THE MASSACRE



Glencoe is a highly emotive word in Scotland, recalling for many a grim massacre in which Scots killed Scots because of the English link. What exactly were the complex political tensions that brought about this bloody incident that lives on bitterly in our folk memory? The next issue of Scotland's Story explains.

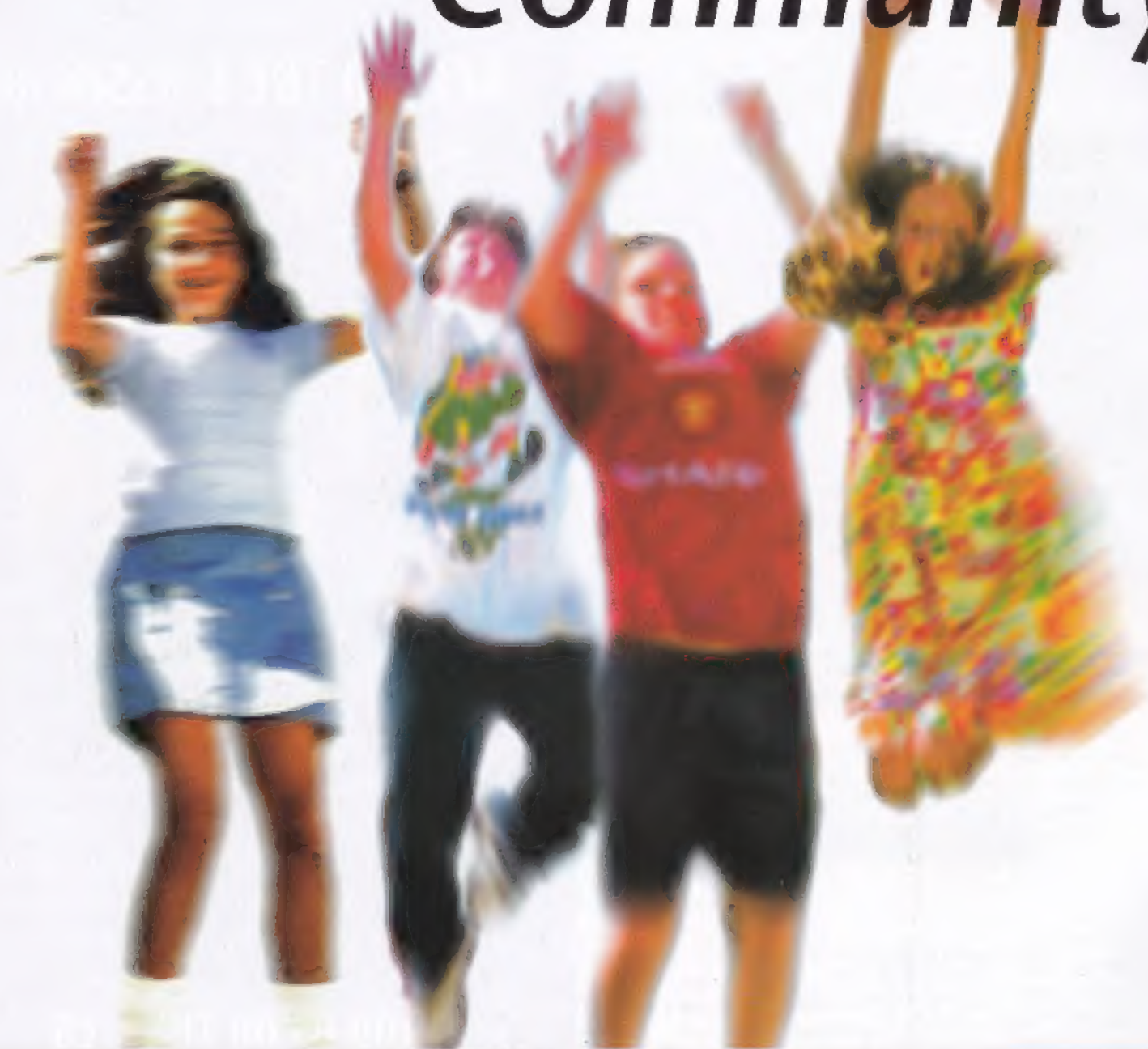
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